Of a Free Trade.

A DISCOURSE

Seriously Recommending to our Nation the wonderfull benefits of TRADE, especially of a rightly Governed, and *Ordered Trade*.

Setting forth also most clearly,

The Relative Nature, Degrees, and Qualifications of LIBERTIE,

Which is ever to be inlarged, or restrained according to that Good, which it Relates to, as that is more, or lesse ample.

Written by HENRY PARKER Esquire.

Τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης οὐδὲν κενεώτερον ἀλλό.

Doing all things thou dost none:
Busines too vast makes thee a Drone

LONDON:
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TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
JOHN KENRICK
Alderman of LONDON, Governour of the Merchant Adventurers of ENGLAND.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
ISAAC LEE,
Deputy of the said Company of *Merchant Adventurers* residing at *Hamburgh*.

To all other Deputies, Assistants and Members of the said Famous Company.

Worthy Gentlemen:

IF in this brief Argument (which here treats of your Charters, and maintains your priviledges) there be any thing beseeming an Advocate of yours: I desire the intire advantage thereof may redound solely to your selves. For indeed the Merit of your Cause is such, as would require an able Orator: and when I first applyed my self to serve you herein, I perceived your interest was the same as the Common interest of all Merchants, and that could have no termination, but in the common interest of our Nation: But if there appear any Error, or Fayler in these papers: if the workmanship be found too unworthy of the stuffe: I shall then desire of all my Readers, that the blame may be onely mine: and that none but my self may suffer the least disadvantage by my defects, and disabilities. I am certain all wise, impartial Judges will distinguish betwixt that which is mine in this weak peece, and that which is yours: and if they cast some disdain upon me for not

pleading your cause, as I might: they will not proceed to a condemnation of your cause, for being no better pleaded here then it is.

In Queen Elizabeths *dayes a Tract to this very purpose was Printed by Mr.* Wheeler (*a learned Gent: that preceded me in this place*) *were that Tract now re-printed, perhaps our Times would be better satisfied in this Case. It came not to my sight, till after I had formed the lump of this, and given it all those rude lineaments almost, which it now bears: and I was induced then to persist in my resolution of finishing this, and not of retroceding; the rather; because I saw my stile and method varied much from his: because, the face of the times (which has great influence upon the State and fate of Merchandize) was not the same when He wrote, as it is now: because, his Tract was in bulk more then twice, as great as mine; because, He might give some light to me in some things, and I adde some to Him in other things; and so both might be more effectuall for the ends proposed by both, then either: because, if He was more satisfactory in matters of this particular Company, I had some thoughts in my self, that I was more proper for the affairs of Merchants in generall. These reasons kept from abortion this Essay of mine at that time: but for how long a space it was repreived, I cannot prognosticate: nor do I much regard how soon its fatall houre approaches, so the businesse which it aymed at may survive, and prosper. Gentlemen, my reputation in this case must run some hazard, and stand or fall, as the vogue of this age pleases: yet my intention is to be judged of onely by you; wherefore let that onely finde your fair acceptation, and favourable construction, and that shall be a sufficient encouragement to*

Hamb: Decemb. 30.
1647.

Your Worships obliged,
faithfull Servant,

HEN: PARKER.

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING FREEDOM of TRADE.

MAN is taught by the rules of Wisdom to begin at the End of his Actions, and to give the first place in his intention, to that which is to have the last in Execution. Now the end of this discourse is improvement of Trade; and it being a thing of late much controverted by divers; whether Freedome in Trading be a proper means, or no, to improve Trade: These two Termes (*Freedome* and *Trade*) must be the subject matter of this Discourse. As for *Trade* the word is plain, and needs no explanation: and the thing is as obvious to every mans understanding, and so needs no definition. I will therefore premise something very briefly concerning the value, and importance of *Trade*, that my *end* here aymed at, to which my intention must needs give the precedence, may not seem inconsiderable to any: and then cursorily from my first Terme, I shall addresse my self to my second.

My Lord *Cook* in his Commentary upon our Great Charter (where the Merchants contentment is so prudently provided for) tels us, that Traffick is the Merchants livelihood, and that the livelihood of the Merchant is the life of the Common-weal, such as the King himself, and every Subject of the Land has an interest in. He observes also that the Merchant is the good Bayliffe of the Realme, aswell to export Native, as to import forrain Commodities for the benefit and necessary defence of the same. This Politick *Argonante* in Law amongst matters of Law, thinks no extravagance to deliver his judgement of matters in *Trade*; and if we rightly analyse his judgement herein, we shall finde,

that not a word of it falls to the earth without its due weight. The Merchant indeed has a great dependance upon him both of Land and Water men, and is often commander of great summes of ready mony (greater then other men commonly though better landed, and estated can raise upon suddaine, publick exigences) and so even in his gowne at home he is a proffitable member of the Commonwealth: but look upon him in his imployment serving the *State* by his traffick, and so he is more then profitable, He is necessary to the well beeing, nay to the beeing of the State. Those things which he exports conduce perhaps more to profit, and things imported to securance: yet tis well intimated here that both exportation, and importation do conduce to both. Native Commodities more immediatly afford us Treasure: yet Treasure is as well *firmamentum belli*, as *ornamentum pacis*: and forrain commodities more usually are materialls for Shipping, Armes, supplyes in times of dearth, and distresse, &c. yet sometimes we retayle the same to strangers for gaine, and thereby convert them into ornaments of peace, as well as instruments of defence. How prodigiously did *Antwerpe* formerly in a very few yeares aggrandize it selfe? and what an excesse of splendor has *Amsterdam* attaynd to since? yet (for ought I know) Nature has bestowde no more previledge upon those two Townes whereby to advance themselves with such facility: then it has upon *Bristoll*, & *Newcastle* amongst us. Sure then, the *Hollander* and *Fleming* may infuse this secret into us from that wonderous degree of opulence, and pompe, which both by *Trade* have ascended unto; that importation of exotick commodities, if subtilly managed, may become as great an improvement, as exportation is to others. It is visible in the *Hollander* that the mines of *Perue* are as serviceable to Him, as to the poore *Indian*, that diggs in them: that the *Furrs* of *Russia* are equally parted betwixt Him and the *Muscovite*: that the plaines of *Cots-would*, and *Lemster* do as well graze his sheepe, as they do the *Englishman*. And there was a time when the *Antwerpian* might have boasted as truly, that *Arabia* was his gardine, that *Spayne* was his Orchard, that *Norway* was his Forrest. That City (tis true) which abounds with commodities of its own, has an easier, & shorter way to prosperity then that City which

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is destitute of the like helps, and opportunities, and yet experience discovers daily to us, that some Cities which have little of their own, being industrious, flowe with more abundance, and swim in greater superfluity; then some other sloathfull Cities, that naturally want nothing. Hence is the difference betwixt the Merchant and the Husbandman, the Husbandmans thrift is in *vendendo*, not *emendo* as old *Cato* tells him: But the Merchant has found out a way, how he may be *emax*, and *vendax* in the same thing, and often times the retaylor findes the second sale more beneficiall to Him, then the first was to the Proprietor. Nay even the more unusefull Crawmerys of *Norinburgh* though they argue no thrift in them, that buy them at last hand, yet they also are no contemptible mines of Gold and silver to those which make, or buy them for a second utterance. Furthermore, if from Merchandize it selfe, and these good Bayliffes of the Realme, which so actively purvey in all parts of the world habitable, and uninhabitable for Treasure, armes, and all other things, that partain to pleasure, health, and necessity: if from them, we turn to the instruments, of their negotiations our Ships, the wooden walls, and fortification of our state, of what respect ought these to be? Even these (under God) in times of Peace prevent War: in times of War procure Peace: in times of plenty they releive our Friends abroad, in times of dearth they releive us at home. For examples, tis losse of time to offer any in this argument, every man can tell how stupendiously *Tyre*, *Sydon*, &c. of old, and *Venice*, *Belgia* and other latter Signioryes have flourisht since by the gaines of Merchandize, whilst their puissance, and magnificence has been more raised, and propagated by the Merchant, then either by the Husbandman, souldier, or Scholler. Tis admirable to see what vast revenues are purchast by some Nations (especially where Democracy takes place) out of meere commerce; and how far other Nations in the mean time (especially such as are swayde by Monarchs) though more commodiously situated, and advantagiously qualified otherwise do neglect the same. The reason hereof may be, because in popular States the Merchant usually has more share in administration of publick affaires: whereas in Monarchies, those that have the charge of the rudder, have commonly little insight,

insight into Trade, and as little regard of Traders. Howsoever either some singular happinesse has hitherto attended *Spaine*, and *Portugal*, or else doubtlesse the feats of Merchandice have been in more then ordinary esteeme with their Kings: for both these have not onely inriched their own homes by Sea adventures, but also acquired thereby greater Dominions then their own. For indeed besides those purchases which have been made in the East Indies, we see in *Mexico*, and *Peru*, there is a new Hemisphere adjoyned now to that old half world, which the *Assyrians*, *Persians*, *Grecians*, *Romans* with so much sweat, and blood laboured to subjugate heretofore. And if the Sun find no degree in all his circuit, where He can obscure himself from the Crown of *Spaines* Subjects: the thanks thereof is due to the Art of an old Navigator: and probably had *Hen: 7.* given as much credit to *Columbus* as *Ferdinand* did, either the *Austrian* Family had not spread its wings so wide, or the Kings of *England* had not been so closely intrenched within the foure British Seas, as now they are. But I purposely wave the ostentation of many, and great instances, and therefore the whole weight of this Argument shall onely be hung upon the single epitome (as it were) of this pety jurisdiction here, wherein we now reside.

All the Land-intradoes, which tillage or pasturage yeelds to this Town of *Hamburgh* are not much more considerable then some Gentlemen and Esquires inherit in *England*; yet the wilde Ocean, as these restlesse Copemen plow it with their Fleetes, and harrow it with their nets; (though they creep into that too through a River, not wholly at their command) is forced to pay them as great a Tribute, and ample a rent as three the richest and goodliest Counties of *England* are annually worth. Nevertheless *England* more abounding with all habiliments, and necessary accommodations of Trade, and seeming to be as much courted by the circumambient Sea, as any part of the Universe, for want of incouragement to her Merchants at home, and Plantators abroad owes little of her grandour, and power to that Element. Forrein Nations easily become greater gainers by trading into *England*, then the *English* can by trading abroad: 'tis too probable, that forrein Merchants reserve an intire gain to themselves out of all their own Commodities brought in hither;

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yet share a half profit with us, in all our Commodities exported hence by them. And thus whilest we leave many benefits to our emulous hostile neighbours, which by the same industry (as they commendably use) might by us be anticipated to our own behoof; our own supine sluggishnesse is the cause that we remain so much the weaker, and our Enemies become so much the stronger. Thus much of the advantages of traffick; thus much of the necessity of that noble profession, which teaches us to be the curious, & laborious marriners of all the worlds Oceans, Straits, and Creeks; if we have any desire to be more formidable to our Enemies, or more aidfull to our Friends, or more gainfull to our selves, this may be held sufficient.

From the benefit, I come now to the Freedom of *Trade:* I mean, that particular degree of freedom, which is at this day pleaded for, and patroniz'd by some, that professe themselves no unfriends to Trade. Herein this method shall conduct me: In the first place, I shall inquire, whether that Freedom, which is affected by these times can stand with due order, and discipline, or not: secondly, whether Trade probably can flourish, or not, without due order and discipline: and in the last place, I shall answer such Arguments, as are framed for liberty, and do militate against our Order and Discipline.

Liberty in a right acception, and understanding, is that which delivers, and exempts us from some evill noxious, and offensive to us; such as is oppression, too much restraint, &c. but it includes not any wilde condition, such as leaves us loosly in all things to our own discretion. That famous *Roman*, that had the happines to set *Greece* (in that age the Eye of the world) at liberty, and did break in sunder the yoke of *Macedon*, when He saw in the people too much wantonnesse, and immoderation, He advised them to more continencie, and to retire into narrower bounds; *Vt saltem meram libertatem non hauirent.* Herein he seemed wisely to distinguish betwixt that sheere, unmixt freedom, which uses to intoxicate us, and to bring detriment, and danger with it; and that allayed, or mixt freedom, which God, and Nature have made so sweet to all Generous mindes: whose property it is ever, to feel restraints to it felt in some things, as well as to take re-

straints off from us in other. In politicks, there are Free Monarchs, and there are Free Subjects: and the freedom of Monarchs is not incompatible with the freedom of Subjects: for neither is it necessary to the freedom of a Prince, that He should be unlimitable in all things, and beyond controll as well when He destroys, as when He saves: nor to the freedome of a Subject to live absolved from all *Laws*, and obedience. Without all question, He is the freest Prince that has the most power to do good, and the least to do harm: and He is the freest Subject, who is to pay his obedience to the mildest Laws, and indulgentest Magistrates. So in Ethicks: He injoyes the purest and most refined freedome in his own breast, which has the least furious passions to serve, and the least impetuous appetite to master; not He that is becalmed, as it were, and finds no mobility at all in his spirit. The various Luminaries in Heaven have their distinct magnitudes, motions, and stations: and the blessed Intelligences in the Heaven of heavens (nay even those spirits that are falne from blessednesse) retain severall distances of power, place, and office. All these things prove to us, that restraint, and liberty, are relative things, and not to be accounted simply good, or simply bad in themselves. When restraint deprives us of that good which is in temperate liberty it degenerates into oppression: when it onely saves to us that good, which is in harmonious order, it is fully answerable to Liberty. So liberty when it onely discharges us from that evill, which is in oppression, it approaches to the perfection of Order: but when it dissolves all Order, it precipitates us headlong into confusion.

Liberty is either intensive, or extensive, and both wayes it must be reduced to a just standart: for if it be in degree too void of temperature, and qualification the ruder sediment of the people cannot bear it, it strangely inebriates them: and if the degree of it be moderate, yet the dilatation of it to too many makes it incommodious. There are two vitious extreames in government; the one is rigorous, and makes nothing lawfull, or safe to any: the other is remisse, and leaves all things free and safe to all: now by the consent of all; that extreame, which straitens too much, is not so desperately ill, as that whic hinlarges too much. The reason is, because those which govern are fewer in number then the

the governed: and therefore clashing, and confusion (which must needs inevitably follow, where all limits, and restraints are taken away) is lesse dammageable amongst a few, then it would be amongst many.

Liberty therefore may well be compared to fresh waters, it is potable, and sweet whilst it endures a just confinement in the vaines and channells of the earth. But when it once refundes it selfe into the bosome of the briny *Ocean*, it retaynes no longer its former relish. And even so we must censure of Liberty by the last, whilest it produces good effects it remains Liberty, the name and thing agree well: but when it supplyes to us no good at all, or bereaves us of some good greater then it supplyes, it remaines no more then the shadow, or meere misnomer of Liberty. *Exempli gratiâ*: If all Land-inclosures were every where layde open, and all evidences cancelled, upon which mens private interests, and proprieties depend, many poore men would expect to have their conditions meliorated; yet undoubtedly their expectations at last would faile them; and together with community in all things a generall confusion of all persons, and things would breake in to the fatall destruction both of poore and rich.

Our common Proverbe puts us rightly in mind, that he which dwells every where, dwells no where: that every mans interest is no mans intrest, & that every mans businesse is no mans busines: now this being true in matters of Husbandry, and in all other interests, and negotiations, why should it not be as true in matters of commerce, for if agriculture generally be more necessary then trade: and if confusion in agriculture be more mischeivous then confusion in Trade, yet by the same consequence confusion in trade? is as mischievous to Traders, as confusion in tillage would be amongst those that till the earth.

Thus much of the word *Freedome* generally taken, I must now speake more particularly of that Freedome, whose expedience, or inexpedience is so much question'd in the busines of Trade.

Freedome and *restraint* are things opposite (we see) yet both admitting of severall degrees, and limitations, they are not so oppolite but that some kinde of restraint may be reconciled to some kinde of freedome, for in as much as it is sometimes conve-

nient to be restrained, though not alwaies, and from all things; and sometimes it is inconvenient to be loosed, or inlarged though not alwaies, and from all things: in regard that restraint at sometimes onely upholds Order, and liberty at other times introduces confusion: Our mayne Quære, is onely this; Whether that restraint in Trade which hitherto has been establish't amongst such and such Companies of Merchants, be conducing to Order, or no: And whether that Freedome of Trade which irregular Interlopers dispute for be the usher of confusion, or no.

For the just discussion of this, the benefit of Order, regulation, and approved discipline amongst Merchants, is to be considered and brought into the scole of this hand, whilst the advantage of opennes, looseneſſe, and unconfinedneſſe in trading is to be brought into the other.

For out of all question, liberty is not to be poized by the meer sound of its name, but by the solid priviledges which it brings with it, & in like manner restraint is not to be rejected except onely for the certaine, substantiall disadvantages which are found to accompany it. Let us then draw up an exact ballance.

The 1. Benefit which we now injoy by our government, and incorporation is in things appertaining to Gods worship, & the true Religion: though we live amongst *Lutherans, Papists, Jews, Mahometans, Pagans*: Yet we have a free exercise of our Religion. and in some places the Ordinances are as duly, profitably, and comfortably administerd amongst us, as if we were in the bosome of our own Church.

How much this priviledge tends to the honor of God, the propagation of the true faith, how much to the prosperity of trade (Godlineſſe having not onely the promises of the world to come, but also of this life) & how much to be bewail'd the want of the Word, and Sacraments is amongst our Merchants in *Spaine, Italy, Portugal*; let all men judge. Yet how this divine blessing can be continued amongst us, after that we are bound together by no links of Association, but that we may trade at large arbitrarily where we list, how we list, and when we list, is worthy to be considered; and I beleive all men who have a true sence, and tincture of Religion in their hearts will consider it seriously.

seriously. The next benefit is in matters of Justice: Though we are far distant from our own Judges & Courts, and cannot have timely recourse to the remedie of our owne Laws, nay though we should otherwise be exposed to the snares, and rigors of forrein Laws, and Magistrates, we are now (in matters where appeale is not requisite) tryed by men of our own Religion, of our own Nation, and education, and such also as are present upon the place.

All Partners that enter into a joynt Trade for the most part Covenant here mutually, and voluntarily in all cases of dispute, and doubt to stand to the judgment of this Court, I never saw any Indentures hitherto without that expresse clause in them. Nay even strangers here have often declined their owne Tribunals, and submitted their cases to our decisions, and I never yet heard of any of them that departed not from our Court fully satisfied both with our Justice, and expedition: it cannot therefore be expected, that our own Merchants which know so well what a priviledge it is to be judged by Merchants, especially being present upon the place, and such as guide their judgments by the same Merchants Law, as is in force in *England*, should not set a great price upon this especiall priviledge. *Hen:* the 4th. and *Hen:* the 7th. were as wise Kings as ever raign'd in *England*, and when the one of them granted our Charter, & the other inlarged the same, the main consideration, which both of them had in their eyes, was the prevention of many mischeifs empeachments, & obstructions which at that time sensibly oppressed Merchants, and confounded Trade, *ob defectum bovi, & sani Regiminis.*

A Third Benefit which we are now capable of by being incorporated into Companies is, that hereby we are inabled to do many egregious works of charity, which by our disfranchisement would all be utterly lost, and extinguisht.

The Merchant Adventurers are but one branch of the Merchants of *England*, and the Merchants here residing are but one branch of the Merchants Adventurers, yet how many hundreds has this branch sustained, and releived in cases of necessity? and how many widowes, and poore families doth it constantly feed and refresh? Abont 16 yeers since, when the expedition of Marquise *Hamilton* had miscarried here in *Germany* many, sick, distressed souldiers that were the wofull splinters of his broken ar-

armycame hither, and were not onely saved from perishing, but also shipt for *England* at this Companies charge. M: *Ant: Bedingfield* was then our Deacon, and had the charge of the poores box, he is now a Parliament man, and can averre upon his knowledge that this society issued no lesse at that time within 6 months space then 400 pound, for such devout purposes.

A Fourth Benefit afforded by our present Government, is, that hereby we are render'd far more considerable instruments to serve and honour our own Country, then else we should be, and that not onely in Trade, but also in diverse other eminent, publick Offices.

As we are now imbodied, and compacted, we can by our common seales raise great summes of mony: We are in a qualification to entertaine Princes, to oblige Cities, to procure right, and timely intelligence, and sometimes to prevent publick misunderstandings: and so to merit much oftentimes of the Nation, from whence we are.

That formidable *Armado* which in 1588 was designed to swallow us up, had inprobability been far more fatall then it was if it had been appointed sooner, and arrived when Queen *Elizabeth* was not so well appointed as it found her afterwards. And yet this is well known, that *Gresham* and other Merchants by taking up the monys at *Genoa*, and our Company by doing the like at *Keeler Mart* in *Holsteine*: did so prevent *Philip* that his Invasion was retarded thereby for a whole year, and that retardment being so much to the disadvantage of *Spaine*, and to the advantage of *England*, was under God a powerfull meanes of preserving us. *Charles* the 5th. by calculation found that in *Antwerpe* 20000 Soules, and in all the Low Countries at least 60000 had a lively-hood, and subsistance from the *English* Trade: wherefore when he was very resolute to bring the inquisition into *Antwerpe*, and remained unmoovable against all other arguments, and supplications of that Town: yet this motive, that the *English* Company would be dislodged by introducing of that rigor, diverted him from his purpose.

Also when the same *Charles* had transferred all his signiories, & Dominions to his son *Philip*, that branch of the Merchant Adventurers appeared in gallant state to grace those Solemnities, consuming

consuming above 2000 Crowns in sumptuous furniture, shewes and triumphall arches. In the yeer 1581. likewise the Duke of *Alanson* in the same City was entertained by 80 *English* Merchants of the same Company, all bravely mounted on horse back, apparelled in black velvet, & most of them with brooches & chains of gold about their necks: for which they received thanks from Queen *Elizabeth* and the Lords of her Councell. The King of *Bohemia*, and some of our Kings *Nephews* (besides diverse Embassadors) have found some seemly receptions also from us here at *Hamburgh*, and from our brethren at *Roterdam*, upon severall occasions, but I forbeare prolixity in this point. An other excellent singular Benefit of our government is, that thereby we are put into a capacity of injoying all that is good and profitable in union, and all that is good, and profitable in division withall. Take away that Order, and Harmony that is now setled amongst us, and has been setled by all our Kings, and countenanced by all our Parliaments from *Hen:* the 4th. till this very day, and as fully confirmed by this Parliament as by any: and our Trade will become instantly both stragling, and confused: and as a stragling Trade will deprive us of whatsoever is good in union, so a confused Trade will abridge us of all that is good in a due method, and distribution.

This may be demonstrated most plainly in a military bodie: 20000 men well armed, and imbattaild, are of greater force, then 40000 drawn together in an unformed, undigested heap; and when that shall be accounted an Army of so many Souldiers effective, this shall be despised as a rout of so many men rudely conglomerated, and thronged together. For 'tis not sufficient that there be together in one Feild a due proportion of Commanders and Souldiers, of Horse and Foot, of Arms offensive, and defensive: all these must be severally ranged, and distantly imployed: the Commander must move here, the Souldier there, the Horse must charge here, the Foot there; such a Regiment must be assigned its post here, such a Brigade must advance there: wise men know experimentally, that there is an art in division sometimes, such as in many cases gives life to Union: and it is as true on the contrary: that the queintest division makes miserable Musick, when it is not subservient to Union. For let a Battail be marshall'd

marshall'd in all its members, and parts according to the most exact rules of souldery either ancient, or moderne: yet if the Trumpets sound contrary points of warre, if the superior Commanders give contrary Orders, if all these curiously fashion'd digestions, and divisions be not inspirited with one, joynt-designe, which like the soul is to over-rule all the Organs, what can be expected from this great, moliminous frame? Now if we make any doubt whether or no the use of Tacticks be as great in mercatorian, as in military affairs let us come to neerer application, and bend our selves to consider, as well what the want of union, as what the want of distribution usually occasions amongst Traders.

Union amongst Merchants cannot be denyed to be of exceeding great importance, for in all places where we fix our residence, we see, it makes us more valuable, and acceptable: Whilest we are lookt upon as an orderly, united Society, we are known to be able to make, or divert a Trade in or from any one Town, or Province. How soon was *Bruges* in *Flanders* despoyl'd of its fame, and opulence after our Company withdrew from it? and how soon did *Antwerpe* transcend *Bruges* in fame, and opulence after our Commodities were stapled in *Brabant*? When 'twas too late, *Bruges*, besides inlargement of former priviledges, could offer us moneys, and descend to strange intreaties for the wooing and winning of our return: but *Antwerpe* had first prevailed with us, and having prevailed, it sent forth its Magistrates to meet, and welcome us with processions. And well it was for *Antwerpe*, that the *English* were so taken with their civilities, for in the space of 60 or 70 yeers, whereas it had, before it was our Mart, not above foure able Merchants, and six Ships, it became the glorious Magazine of all Europe. The like instance might be given in *Stodt*, and *Hamburgh*, the same cause that now makes *Hamburgh* rich, did once do the like at *Stodt*: and the same cause that made *Stodt* poore, may hereafter perhaps work the same effect in *Hamburgh*. Who sees not therefore that from the benefit which strangers receive from us, whilest we are thus associated, and made capable of marrying our Company to them, arise those reciprocall obligations, and speciall dowries, as it were, which they by their concordates confirm unto us? Where we are unprofitable, we must

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expect to be held despicable: and what extraordinary profit can other Nations expect from our Merchants, when they appear onely as so many individuall persons, or straggling Traders.

The *English* had at the *Narre* in *Leifland* a good Trade, and good sales for our Native Commodities for a while, but about 1565. divers straggling Merchants resorted thither out of *England* and so brought themselves, and their wares into great contempt. Divers of them went about the Town with Cloth in their arms, and Measures in their hands, and so when they had shamefully imbased our *English* Draperies, to the disreputation of our Countrey, and decay of themselves, the Lords of the Councell at the next Parliament were inforced, for prevention of the like sordid, Pedlar-like traffick thereafter, to comprise the *Narre* within the *Muscovie* Companies Charter.

Thus is Union, or a politick Association amongst Merchants beneficiall to the places where we trade, and by resultance beneficiall to our selves, and in the last resort beneficiall to our whole Nation: for all these interests are so interweaved, that the benefit of the Stranger is requited with the benefit of the *English* Merchant; and the benefit of the *English* Merchant is to be regarded as the benefit of the *English* Nation. For in some things that which immediately advantages the *English* Merchant, advantages mediately the *English* Nation: even as in other things that which immediately brings prosperity to the *English* Nation, mediately brings prosperity to the *English* Merchant. This is to illustrate the Commodities which flowe from our Union, now the Commodities which flowe from a due distribution, and division in Trade are no lesse visible. The whole world almost is now aptly cantoniz'd amongst several Societies of our Merchants, whilest some trade East, some West, some neerer, some further off; and were it not for this apt partition, it would unavoidably fall out, that some Mart Towns would prove over-pester'd, or like a Common of Pasture over-layd, whilest others in the mean time would be left utterly unfrequented. And sure if the world were not spacious enough for all our Traders, some pretence might be framed, why all men ought to be licenced in all places: but since the contrary is most true, and no man is so straited for want of roome, but that he may trade in some places to his own advantage, though he be bounded that he may not trade in all places

to other mens disadvantage: nothing but an emulous desire to interfere with others, and to incumber trade could provoke men to be opposite to our regular distributions. I need not amplifie hereupon, tis enough that I further refer to the example of our thriving Neighbours in *Holland*; whosoever will behold Order in its beauty, and perfection amongst Merchants there, He may observe them so politickly associated, and their Associations so equally distributed, that no one impedes the other abroad, nor no one Town ingrosses all Trading to it self at home.

Hitherto I have instanced in the manifold expediences of Order, and Government, especially in matters of piety, equity, charity, and policy as well in relation to the Common weal of Merchants, as to the Common-weal of *England*: now whether there be any thing in freedom of Trading that can preponderate, and excell all these, I leave to all sober men to discern; if there be, I wish it may prevail, and obtain a just preference before all these: if there be not, more need not be inferred out of these premisses: sober men cannot be affected with the name, or empty sound of a relative, that is rather to be judged by its circumstances, effects, and additions then by it self: sober men cannot but distinguish betwixt that true freedome which alwayes dis-inthrals us of some evill, and that shadowy ghost of freedome, which often denudes us of our greatest priviledges. I hope I have now discharged, what was to be expected from me in my first point, and made it apparent that the freedom in Trade which is to be admeasured, and ballanced with all these expediences here enumerated had not need to be of large extension.

It remains now that I come to my next head, and therein inquire whether trade be likely to flourish or no, being stripped, and robbed of all those powers and preeminences which our Charters convey to us.

I have hitherto lookt upon Merchants as Travaylers sojourning abroad, I must now come neerer, and looke upon them as very Merchants, buying, selling, bartering, bargaining, &c. with other Nations; & from generall Order, and harmony amongst Merchants, I must come to instance in such, and such species of that Order, and harmony, which has hitherto been so fortunate to them. And first let us looke into that provision of our Government, which limits the education, and admission of Apprentices, & though I have not leisure to cite all our rules concerning the

fame which are very many, & each of them very usefull, yet consider the *sumum genus* it self, see if the breeding of Apprentices be not absolutely necessary. Grant to all without exception an open license to trade at large, & who will indure the strict duty and bondage of Apprenticehood? and yet without that strict duty, and bondage, who can be sufficiently instructed, and prepared to gaine all those Arts, and subtilties, which we know are absolutely necessary to all Traders. In all sciences, and occupations breeding is necessary, but amongst Merchants it is more then ordinarily necessary: For if Divines may pretend something to divine, secret illapses from above; and souldiers by their generall tacticks learned in one Countrey, may be qualified for command in all Countries; and if agriculture be a skill that depends much upon naturall sagacity: yet with Merchants 'tis far otherwise. For unto a Merchant not onely a breeding, but a particular breeding in such or such a place, in such or such a Trade is requisite. He that is experienced to trade in *Russia* is not thereby inabled to trade in *Spaine*, and he that can deale warily enough with *Indians*, *Turks* and *Barbarians*, is not alwaies prepared enough to cope with the *Jews*, Hans Townes, and *Hollanders*. Questionlesse to license all men to trade without breeding; nay without the particular advertisements, and preparations of such a breeding is to send men naked into battell, and to render them up as a prey to vulpine, circumventing neighbours. I might here take occasion to commend the training up of our Youths on this side the seas, as it is publickly advantagious, there being infused into them thereby something of the Souldier, and something of the Scholler, and indeed (if I am not deceived) there is commonly instilled something into them, that better qualifies them to serve the State, then what we see in meere Schollers or Souldiers. I wish our young gallants which learn in *France* to weare ribbons, and in *Spain* and *Italy* to be perfidious, and do worse things, did alwayes return home as much improved, and as well accomplisht as our Merchants use to do. But this is not within my lists, and that thought shall supersede me.

For our next evidence, we may appeal unto our many Orders made to prevent, and reform, the ill and faulty making of Cloth, and other *English* woollen Commodities, without which Orders all our Manufactures would be falsified, and corrupted, and consequently

sequently our Nation disparaged, all buyers of Cloth at home, and abroad abused, and Trade it self much desolated. At the sollicitation of our Merchants, wholsome Statutes have been Enacted, and to second them strict Proclamations have been publisht: and to back them the Merchants have appointed Officers, furnisht stipends, and applyed divers other preventions, that our Draperies might be kept to their just measures, weights, and numbers; yet we find all is too little. The Clothiers begin to sophisticate of late more then ever, and all our power will be insufficient to withstand them; except the State reach forth their helping hands yet further; and do more exactly poize both our ends and pretensions. The clamors of the Clothiers against the Merchants priviledges arise chiefly from this offence, though they are commonly palliated with other pretexts, and tis a wondrous thing, that when they are sensibly gainers by transgressing Laws, and we are as sensibly at a charge to maintain them, they should be so well, and we so ill interpreted.

In my Lord *Cooks* opinion nine parts of ten of all our *English* Staple Commodities, are such as we sheere from the Sheeps back, we had need therefore be carefull how abuses break in upon us in these Commodities, and how we countenance those that are the abusers, and yet thereby discountenance the zealous reformers of the same. M: *Anth: Wither* is now a Justice of Peace about *London*, He was once imployed by the Merchant Adventurers besides others about reforming of these abuses, let it be inquired what a liberall yeerly stipend He obtained for the same.

In the third place we may produce our many prudent Orders against mis-shipping, whereby, first, the Shipping of the Kingdom is the better maintained, in as much as by our government it is not permitted to any particular men for cheapnesse sake either to ship in forrein bottoms, or in vessels of our own that are undefensible. Secondly, by our regularity in shipping many fraudulent attempts of such as use to steal customes, bribe searchers, colour strangers goods, &c. are disappointed. Thirdly, by the due observation of our rules, whilest we ship our goods hand in hand together we go stronger through the Seas, are in lesse fear of Rovers, and other dangers. We also are lesse injurious to our common Trade, yea and to particular persons amongst our selves: in as much as now we forestall not one another, nor bring down

down our common prices by the precipitate haste of some few; by this means also forrein buyers are accommodated by their certainty, knowing in due season when to repair to our Marts; and we are not disaccommodated by our uncertainty, because we know when to sell, and when to forbear selling, and thereby we keep our Commodities from being blown upon, either by having our Ware-houses too full at sometimes, or too empty at others.

In the fourth place, the many Cautions, Orders made by us for the reglement of our sales may justly be here cited: by some of these, we are limited to such certain shew-dayes partly for our own ease, and partly for the buyers advantage. The Cities of *Lubeck* and *Bremen* have lately been urgent with us to set more shew-dayes here at *Hamburgh* then two in a week: but we seeing our Trade no ampler, then it is at present, found the inconvenience of altring our Shew dayes, and so denied them satisfaction in that point. By others of our Orders we are restrained from giving gratifications to Merchants or Brokers, from all pety sales, and retails, which (if allowed) would reduce us soon to ignoble, vulgar Pedlars: by others we are bound from giving credit without liquid Bils, and specialties, also from pawning Bils, or rebating under such a certain rate, and hereby we prevent many Suits with strangers, and many strifes amongst our selves. By others we are inhibited from allowing Tare out of the Mart Town, or out of due time, or without due inspection: and we are all convinced, that were it not for regulation in this matter of Tare, there were no abiding in *Germany*. How our Trade languishes in *Holland* at this time by reason of Oppression in matter of Tare is known too well, our Councell Table in King *James* his dayes took notice of it, and sought the redresse of it: and sure our Merchants hitherto have onely continued trading there, out of some hope of better times, and conditions hereafter, as Husbandmen use to manure the earth in times of dearth, as well as in times of plenty. Commissioners from *Lubeck* and *Bremen* seconded by the Senate of this Town have assailed us lately, and eagerly pressed us to allow the same Tare, as is in *Holland*, but our answer was resolute, that rather then to submit to such a thraldome we should be forced to abandon all Trade in *Germany*.

Many more instances then these (if it were not for prolixity)

might be made: but as those which have any knowledge in Merchandice will acknowledge these are matters of grand moment, and importance: so to other men that are ignorant, or careless of our affairs, more would be to little purpose. I will onely adde this, that as we injoy many conveniencies by being an united, imbodied Fraternity, so by vertue of the same we are guarded and protected from many inconveniences. As we have a jurisdiction amongst us, we are inabled upon all new emergencies to contravene new devised arts of fraud, and circumvention in bargaining, selling, &c. by making new Orders against them.

Also as we are a Corporation, we are armed thereby with a competence of power to inforce, & execute our Orders so made, and if any violence of forrein States, and Potentates contrary to our Intercourses, and Treaties of amitie enterposes to our prejudice, or if any new Tolls, impósts, or exactions oppresse us, we are in this posture better qualified to relieve, or vindicate our selves, then else we should be. A thousand private men intending their own particular interests as so many particular men, having no common purse, nor publick Officers to solicite the busines of them all, cannot expect that authority with forrein States, nor hope to make so vigorous a resistance against oppressions and innovasions, as one hundred Merchants may, that are closely linked, and cemented together under one, and the same policie. For want of such policie, all other Nations were long since eaten out of their Trade by the *Antwerpians*, and *Esterlings*, and had the Merchant Adventurers been destitute of those powers, and immunities which *Hen*: the 4th. *Hen*: the 7th. and other famous Kings of *England* establisht amongst them, they also had been long since driven out of Trade in like manner.

One man is woolvish to another, as the old Proverbe advertises, nay when Bears will not prey upon Bears, nor woolfes upon woolfes, man will scarce prey upon any other then man. And yet this notwithstanding private man to private man is not so unnaturall; as Nation is to Nation: for amongst particular men the primary Lawes of our Creation, which injoyne us to do as we would be done unto, and to be kindest to them that are neerest in kinde, are not so totally abrogated to us, and eraced out of our consciences, as they are amongst Nations.

If there be any fiercer feude, and violenter antipathy then other,

other, tis commonly seen amongst those States that are most consanguineous, and neereſt conjoyned in other relations, and as for doing to other Nations, as we would have done unto us; that seems a ridiculous principle amongst Statſ-men, inasmuch as to do justice to a stranger when he is plaintiffe against a Native, is no lesse reputed then to do injustice to a Native: and to let slip any advantage whatsoever that is offered us of spoyling forreiners, is the same accounted as to spoile domesticks.

Republicks have no breasts, or seats where any such thing as conscience or true honour can reside; were it not for fear of requital, and return of injuries from those that are injured, all people would be at the same passe, as *Argiers* is now at.

That bold *Roman* that expostulated with *Alexander*, why it might not be as lawfull for him to seize boats, as it was for Princes to invade whole Empires, seemed to conceive that the Laws of Nature extended to communities of men, as well as to individualls: but alas that would neither justifie his private roving at sea; nor condemne *Alexanders* royall roving by land.

In matters of warre Monarchies especially, and in matters of Trade Republicks, lay hold of all advantages, as if their patrimoniall rights were never bounded by any thing but invincible difficulties, and necessities, nor honour had any rules to measure things by but those of profit, and disprofit.

This is the reason why the *Jewish* Lumbards are odious for their excessive gains exacted, and extorted out of all such as they contract with, and therefore are pursued as petty Pirats: but the *Hollanders* and *Hans* Townes for the same exploits done more publickly are extolled as great Merchants, nay are crowned as glorious Conquerors. We that live here in *Hamburgh*, and our Brethren in *Holland* are too sensible of this: our often removals from one Mart Town to another, to ease our selves of insupportable pressures most sedifragously brought in upon us, have preserved that life in our *English* Trade that is yet remaining in it: yet the vast expences of our removings have left us in a sad condition.

This concludes my two first points: I am now in order to answer such arguments as are brought for a *free Trade*, and such objections as are urged against our priviledged way of Trading.

The first Argument is founded upon this maxime: *Bonum quo communius*

communius, eo melius: If Merchandize (say our Adversaries) be good for the Common-weal, then the more common it is made, the more open it is layd, the more good it will convey to us. But all grant Merchandize to be good, *Ergo. Ans.* To detect the fallacies of this Argument: we must confesse that this maxime is true of all such good things as are absolutely, or infinitely good: yet we may deny that Merchandize is either absolutely, or infinitely good. For first, Merchandize *secundum quid*, that is, if it be rightly managed, and regulated may be profitable to such a man, or such a State: but (we all see) that Merchandize at sometimes, for want of good government, and order, undoes many private men, and in their undoing proves injurious to the State. Secondly, Merchandize may be reckoned amongst good things, but not amongst things infinitely good, therefore though the diffusion, or inlargement of it may bring profit to the State unto such bounds, and degrees; yet this is no proof, but that there are bounds, and degrees beyond which it may not be diffused, nor can be inlarged without disprofit. Those good things which are ample enough to satisfie all, may be extended to all, and the further they are extended, the more good they do: but Trade is not of that amplitude as to satisfie all men in all places, and at all times, and therefore not within the same Maxime. If there were in the fruits, and increase of the earth an over-flowing abundance to sustain all, and answer all mens desires without our labour and sweat, then hedges and ditches would be to no purpose: but since the earth is not so profuse of its favours, nor so immense in its revenues, we must maintain mounds, and terriers; priority of possession, expence of toyl, purchase, &c. must be regarded, or else we shall all be soon at a losse.

Before the Land of Canaan was fully stockt, *Abraham* and *Lot* might intercommon freely, and graze their Herds sociably in all places where they travelled; but in processe of time, when their flocks became more numerous, and when consequently the surface of that milk-and-honey-flowing Country began to shrink before them, they were both necessitated to journey severall wayes, and to provide for themselves more fixt, and distinct habitations. The water is a more unmeasured element then the earth, and therefore formerly it was ever held a common patrimony to all: yet since Navigation is improved to this degree,

even this also is now disterminated, and made subject to imaginary lives for avoiding of incroachments, and strife about fishings, &c. And not onely navigable Rivers, but Seas, and Oceans begin to submit to particular Proprieties, and to own the speciall prerogatives of such, and such signiors. Lawyers say, *Cujus est Solum, ejus est etiam usq; ad Cœlum*: wherefore if neither Aire, Water, nor Land resist the Laws of propriety, we cannot think the Trade of Merchants is a thing more emptie, and uncapable of limits and rules, then any of the Elements: if our grounds may be pester'd with cattell; if Ponds may be over-stockt with Fish; if the several Climates of the lower Region be severally peopled, and frequented with fowl that seem to understand their severall seasons: we can hardly imagine that such a Countrey, or such a Mart Town in such a Countrey should not be over-charged with too great a confluence of Merchants.

Second Argument. That which seizes too great matters into the hands of too few, and so is in the nature of a Monopoly, has been alwayes condemned as a preventing Trade, and held injurious to the major part of mankind: but such is the Trade which priviledged, and incorporated Merchants drive, &c.

Ans. The force of this Objection is, that if Trade may not be set at liberty to all, yet it may be set at liberty to more then it is, except we will incur the name and blame of Monopolists. In behalf of the Merchant Adventurers who have, I think, the fullest Charters, & have ever met with the greatest oppositions, though I am not so well acquainted with other Companies, I may with much confidence give these Answers hereunto. First, though Woolsendraped be the main matter of our Trade, yet we deal not onely in those Draperies, but also in all kinds of Wares, and, other Merchandizes. Secondly, neither doth our Company alone transport these Draperies: all other *English* Merchants, nay the Hans Towns, and all other Strangers in amity with the Crown of *England*, at their pleasure may buy, and vend again all sorts of *English* Wares that are fully manufactured, as uncontrollably as they bring in their own Commodities. Wherefore it cannot be said that this chief Trade of the Kingdom is ingrossed, or monopoliz'd by us in either of these two respects, for as much as our priviledges neither confine that Trade to us alone, nor us to that Trade alone.

Thirdly, The name of Monopolists cannot be fixed on them in respect of the bounds allotted them for their Trade: for by calculation we finde there are above 6000 persons free of our Company, and from the *Some* in *France* to the *Scaw* in *Germany*, (the *nihil ultraes* of our commerce) is no extraordinary proportion, for such a proportion of men, let the number of the Merchant Adventurers be compared with the number of all other Merchants, and then compare this space of earth in *France* and *Germany* with all the globe besides; and it will soon appeare, that the confines of our Trade are rather too narrow, then otherwise. Some hundreds, nay thousands of our Company that are capable of our freedome by service, or by Patrimony are faine to leave their callings, & to betake themselves to other imployments: and necessity hath now taught us to confine our selves to a certaine stint of Apprentices, in regard that our Trade is too narrow for our Traders, & therefore whilest we are inforced to break out, what can invite other men thus to break in, and to invade our precincts?

Fourthly, The price that is set upon our priviledges cannot condemne us of monopolie: for if a sufficient number could not be admitted by service, or patrimony: yet the State hath left a door open for any that are qualified for trading to be admitted upon a meane, inconsiderable rate.

Any Out Port Merchant might have had his freedome for 25. l. *sterling*, and any of *London* for 50. l. and those which neglected that opportunity, are yet capable for the double summe.

Fifthly, The stint which we set upon our selves in buying cloth cannot be objected to us, as savouring of monopolie: For first the whole Company by common advice, and consent sets this stint for its own good; and as the whole Company best understands its own interest, so neither has it, or can it have any interest, but such as is consistent with the interest of the State. 2ly, the Company had never resolved upon any such stint, but in contemplation of the narrownesse of Trade: and so far is this stint from making trade more scarce, that it self was ordained meerly as some ease and remedie against the scarcity of Trade.

We know well that tis possible for some one Merchant to exceed fourty others in purse, or credit; yet sure it cannot be expedient for the Common-wealth, that one Merchant should graspe too much

much, and swell up to an excessive bulk, whilest fourty other Merchants being overshadowed by him, can attain to no growth at all. Thirdly, As the stint of Clothes is now set, it remains larger then is made use of by diverse, the fourth part of our Merchants scarce ever buyes to the fourth part of Clothes that is allowable by the stint, wherefore it is a most indirect and prepostorous thing to call that a monopolie, or straitning of Trade; which is the onely remedie against monopolie, & the meer effect of straitnesse in Trade.

They which know the difference betwixt Common certain, and Common sans number; and see how the Husbandman in dressing his vine, makes it more fruitfull by paring away the luxuriant products of its fertility, wil easily judge by these stints, that the Merchants were grown too numerous for their Trade, and not that their Trade was grown too copious for their managing. Sixtly, As our Trade cannot be called an ingrossing Trade, or a monopolie in respect of any other of its priviledges or powers, so neither can it be accused thereof in regard of our covinous, false dealing in Marchandize. Tis true, our Company in *Qu: Elizabeths* daies found much oppositon from the *Hans* Townes, and in that bando which was procured against us, to remoove us from *Stadt*, the main pretence was monopolie used by the *English* Merchants, but for a further Account of that matter, we are to be informed: that the *Hans* Towns had antiently by their great skill in Merchandize, made themselves very famous, and procured to themselves priviledges in many Countries. Amongst other Nations also that did priviledge them, the *English* was not the last, or least.

In *London* therefore they had the *Steelyard* assigned them with power to exercise Merchant Law there, for their own better regulation: and amongst many other old immunities, they were to pay for wares brought in, and carried out one and a quarter *per centum* custome, and no more.

This Custome whilest the cheife Trade of the land was in Wooll undraped, was no great losse to us: but after that the full Act of clothing was made ours in *Ed:* the 3ds. daies, and the Wooll Trade was almost quite decaied, our State found that it lost exceedingly by passing out cloth at the old Custome, and

that the *Hans* Towns priviledges were diverse other waies abused to our publick detriment: Hereupon after some contests, (*Ed:* the 6th. raigning *Anno* 1550.) the said priviledges were lookt into, and found both defective in themselves, and also forfeited by diverse breaches of conditions: the formalities of their incorporation were so voide, that none could safely contract with them, and therefore being detected of diverse injuries in colouring of forrein goods, not within the verge of their priviledges, and other falshoods: it appeared, that they were such an uncertain, misconstituted body, that they were not liable to any account, nor answerable for any trespasse.

This procured a judgment to annull, and abrogate the *Hans* Towns priviledges, and in *Anno* 1557. under *Phil:* and *Mary*, our Customes were improoved from 14. d. to 6. s. 8. d. *per Cloth* payable by the *English*, and 13. s. 4. d. by strangers, and this improovement did but equall the old Custome of wooll undraped. Till the death of *Q: Mary*, whilest *Spain* and *England* were united, the *Hans* Townes seeing their profit so far impared, and Trade in *England* in so good a measure advanced, grew sullenly envious, but durst attempt nothing.

Nevertheless *Anno* 1564. when *Queen Elizabeth* was at enmity with the *Spanyard*, with more resumed courage the *Hans* Towns laboured to suppresse the growth of our Merchandize: and therfore to make the King of *Spaine* their abettor against us in *Germany*, and the Netherlanders, they made themselves parties against us in *Spaine*, by furnishing armes, amunition, &c. Thus some acts of hostility were done on both sides, Queen *Elizabeth* in a defensive way seized some of their Ships sent to supply the *Spanyard*, and the *Spanyard* at their solicitation banisht us out of the Low Countries, and caused us to be interdicted *Germany* also.

Anno 1567. the *English* Merchants being expelled out of the *Netherlands*, contracted for entertainment at *Hamburgh* for 10 yeers: these 10 yeers being expired, no longer residence could be had there, inasmuch as all the *Hans* Towns could not injoy us wholly to themselves, & for any one to injoy us, they thought it unequall, and prejudiciall to the rest.

From *Hamburgh* we removed to *Embden*, and there the same parties

parties prosecuting and renewing their clamors of a monopolizing Trade in the *English*, a new Edict from the Emperor *Anno* 1582. was thundered out against us. The Grave of *Embden* nothing troubled at this Edict, sent his Chancellor Doctor *Moller*, since *Syndicus* of *Hamburgh* to the Spiers, who there defended the *English* Trade against the slanderous imputation of monopolie, and for a while gave such satisfaction, that the Emperours Edict was not put in execution against us.

Queen *Elizabeth* also in 1595. wrote thus to the Emperour, *Monopolium de quo Hanseatici subditos nostros criminantur, calumniæ potius quam veræ accusationis rationem per se ferre videtur.* To wipe off this calumny, we can also instance in several letters of attestation under the Common Seals of *Antwerpe*, *Middlebourgh*, *Embden*, *Stadt* justifying our faire, and just manner of trading: and if such legible proofs be not so available, wee could appeal to all the places where ever we resided, as so many visible arguments, prooving fully for us, that our way of traffick hath not been onely blameless, and just, but also strangely fortunate and propitious.

From *Embden* (for the *Spanyard* prevailing in *Freisland* had now made those parts dangerous to us) we betook our selves to *Stadt*, and there we continued till 1597. so desirous was each of the *Hans* Towns singly to have harboured us, if all jointly had not envied that single advantage: and being there then disaccommodated, 10. or 11. of the cheife Towns under the *States* sent to invite us, and made offers of large accommodations amongst them.

We may further take notice, that *Ed:* the 6th. reserved for the *Hans* Towns after forfeiture of their priviledges, as ample a freedome of commerce, as for any strangers whatsoever: That Queen *Mary* restored the said Towns upon ingagement that their inordinate Trade should be forborne; and this ingagement being violated, She yeelded to a new Treaty about a fit moderation of their Intercourse. Yet the *Hans* Towns did not onely neglect to send Commissioners within the time prefixed, but at the same time publisht an Edict at *Lubeck*, prohibiting all Trade with the *English*, Queen *Mary* for her husbands sake was much a freind to the *Austrian* familie, and for the *Austrians* sake to

these

these Easterlings, and therefore she offered again another Treatie in 1557. but this offer was rejected likewise with an opprobrious pretence, that in *England* they could expect no competent Judges of their cause. If they durst not trust their cause to *England* in Q: *Maries* dayes, because it was a Monarchy, then they judged dishonorably of all Monarchies: if they made no difference of Monarchies, but diffided in it, because it was a forrein State, where they should not be their own Judges, this reflects also upon all forrein States: but the truth is, they had an ill cause, and so were diffident of all Judges, but themselves. Howsoever Queen *Elizabeth* in 1560. offered yet a new Moderation, and this not accepted of from the beginning of her Reign, she commanded they should be used here as her own Subjects, and better then any other Forreiners. This is also most certain, till She saw her Subjects driven from *Hamburgh* in 1578. and an exaction of 7¼. *per centum* set upon all *English* Goods at *Lunenburgh* in 1579. and all the *English* generally ill Treated at *Dantzig*, *Deventer*, &c. and not onely her Enemies of *Spaine* assisted by them, but other Princes also exasperated against Her, She made little difference betwixt them and her own Subjects. I hope this will be a sufficient justification of our *English* Trade: and now since it appears, that this opposition was procured to us by strangers and enemies, that sought not to reduce us to a fair Trade, but to eject us out of all Trade: me thinks it should be very unworthy of any *Englishman* to make use of the same Objections.

3. Arg: That Trade which is not onely complained of by Strangers, but Natives also, and in all ages has encountred with so many Complainants, is likely to be a Monopolie, or some private, anticipating, indirect way of commerce: but such is that of all Merchants incorporated by particular Charters, &c. All priviledged Merchants, especially the Adventurers of *England* (whose priviledges are lookt upon as to ample) have had Adversaries alwaies to wrestle, and contest with both abroad, and at home: yet this may be truly said of them (as of *Cato*) they have been as often absolved, as accused: and their Patrons have ever been far more honorable, then their Adversaries. Clothiers, Interlopers, some Officers of the Outports, and Court projectors have molested them on the one side: but on the other side Parliaments,

ments, Kings, Privy-Councellors, and the wisest of Statesmen have protected them, and their Cause; and upon a full, and due hearing it continually appeared, that their friends had honourable, but their opposers dishonourable ends. As for the Clothier, He stomacks much that He must be so strictly held to the Statute, and may not digresse from the just weight, and measure, that is there set for his Clothes. The Interloper takes offence, that without contributing for Himself, He may not injoy the benefits of that policy, which is maintained at other mens charge: that the same hedges which keep other men from trespassing him, should keep him from trespassing other men. The Outport Officer is prevented of some bribes, for stolne customes, false-colour'd goods, &c. by the regular shipping of our Merchants, and by our Ministers, which keeps too severe a check upon him, and therefore his indignation is raised. In the mean time the begging Courtier, He finds it proficable for the Common-wealth, that accusations should be favoured, and that all Complainants should be heard: for whether the Complaints be true or false, just, or unjust, profit comes in to Him both wayes, and the Innocent must gratifie him for his *quietus est*, as well as the nocent for his impunity. King *James anno* 1613. found that his Progenitors had been deceived in their Grants to us, and therefore suspended and sequestred our Priviledges: but in *anno* 1616. and 1617. after that the Merchants had been drained of 20, or 30000 l. and *Cockayns* new project (so obstructive to Trade) was falne to the ground of it self, the same ancient Charters, and Liberties were revived with more honourable testimonials then ever; the Courtiers were again sensible that King *James* and his Progenitors had been well advised in their Grants.

The Merchants Adventurers long before the Art of Endraping Cloth was introduced into *England*, had Priviledges abroad from the Dukes of *Brabant*, and other Potentates. *Edw:* the 3d. having transplanted the Manufacture out of the *Netherlands*, for the better watering, and cherishing of it, confirmed to the said Adventurers whatsoever had been granted in the yeer 1248. by *John* D: of *Brabant*. *Hen:* the 4th. seeing the good effects of his grandfathers indulgence, added a more beneficiall and large Charter of priviledges in *Feb:* 1406. *H.* 5. *H.* 6. *Edw:* 4. and *R.* 3. were

were followers of that good example by severall ratifications, But *H.7.* seeming to transcend all his Predecessors in policie, and desiring to testifie the same by his care of Merchants, proceeded further to dilate their priviledges, and preeminences. *Polydor Virgil* gives him this Encomium: *Mercatores ille sæpenumerò pecuniâ multa data gratuito juvabat, ut Mercatura (Ars una cunctis æque mortalibus tum commoda, tum necessaria) in suo regno copiosior esset.* In his Reigne (enmities and hostilities interrupting our commerce with the *Burgundians*) we had a Staple provided for us at *Calais*; and then under our own Soveraigne, within our own Dominions we saw our own fellow Subjects as tenderly entertained with divers Franchises, and Indulgences, as if they had capitulated with a strange Prince.

Since *H. 7.* all his Successors have confirmed, or inlarged what was granted before; within few yeers also this King; and since that, this Parliament in 1643. have added strong ratifications, and that not without honourable acknowledgements of this famous Companies services to the publick. Moreover in the times of *Hen:* 4. and *Hen:* 7. some Complaints were preferred by Clothiers, &c. against the Merchant Adventurers: but after due examination, and hearing, the Company had a favourable issue, and not onely obtained a fuller establishment of former Charters, but also new expresse clauses against stragling Merchants, and all other intermedlers, that might empeach, or disturbe their Trade. Other Informations were under *Edw:* 6. exhibited against the same Company by some of their own Brethren: but after the Councell Table had taken a full cognizance thereof, the two chief of the Informers were committed to the *Fleet*, and the rest were Fined, and more strictly injoyned to submit to the Companies Orders for the future. The same Informers also not so acquiescing, made new addresses to the Parliament held after by Queen *Mary:* but the busines was soon quashed there also, and the accusers without further remedie dismissed.

The like or more grievous Complaints were revived by the Clothiers, &c. in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, but what event did attend them? after that the Cloth Trade was set at liberty for a while, after that the *George* at *Westminster* was made as free a Mercat

Mercat for Cloth as *Blackwell-Hall* in *London*, and upon triall the poore people of *Wiltshire*, *Glocestershire*, &c. saw their miseries not relieved, but increased by dissolving the Company of Merchant Adventurers: The Lords of the Councell *anno* 29. *Eliz:* to prevent mutiny in those parts, were fain to send for the Merchant Adventurers, and desire them cheerfully to proceed in their Trade, to which no countenance, nor assistance from them should be wanting for the future.

Alderman *Cockayns* Project in King *James* his dayes was guilded over with a more specious pretext then that in Queen *Elizabeths*, and when our Company was at that time dissolved, Trade was not absolutely layd common (as before) without all manner of regulation: but to prevent general confusion (which had proved it self continually so fatall) a new Company was erected, and incorporated: yet neither so could this project prosper, or subsist. King *James* in his Proclamation *Anno* 1617. publisht for the restitution of our Company and its ancient Priviledges, (after that the consumption, and miserable languishment of Trade for above two yeers space had better instructed him) attestated to the world the excellent method, and discipline of our ancient Corporation, and how ineffectuall his new, looser jurisdiction had proved for the vending of our *English* Cloth-manufactures. And it should seem this was sufficient to satisfie the world, yet the Courtiers would not be so satisfied: for they thought they had gratified the Common-wealth in restoring the ancient Company of the Adventurers, and that they had gratified the Merchant Adventurers in restoring them to their due rights, and therefore to inclose by bargain for themselves a gratification of 20, or 30000 li. was no ill office.

There is another clog remaining upon our Trade to this day, and it is continued still upon the same reason: the Merchant Adventurers at first were stinted to a certain number of Clothes, which number in their exportations they might not exceed: now it appears since to the State, that that number was too strait, and that it is very inexpedient for Trade to circumscribe our Merchants rigorously with that stint; and yet notwithstanding Courtiers must be still feed for releasing Trade of this inexpedience. The Earl of *Cumberland* in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes was

sweetned with a Present for obtaining an inlargement of our stint; but that Present now is become a Rent, and is successively granted by Patent; and though the Patentee be a single person, and cannot be said properly to gratifie the Common-wealth, yet He receives such a yeerly revenue in consideration that the Common-wealth shall not be disserved: and this revenue it self being an Incumbrance upon our Draperies, and raised out of Woollgrowers, Clothiers, Merchants Retailors, and so charging Trade in generall, is no lesse then a disservice it self to the Common-wealth. Thus we see our Charters have been often times, and severall wayes attempted against: and yet if they had not been so much shaken, their power of resistance had not been so experimentally known; for the more the Anchor is straitned, the faster hold it ever gains.

4th. Arg: Since every man is presumed to be most knowing in that Craft wherein He has been bred up; we may presume the Clothiers in matters of cloth to be more knowing then the Merchant.

Ans. First, in the making of Cloth we deny not but there may be more skill in the Clothier then in the Merchant: but the question here is about the uttering and vending, not about working or preparing of cloth: and therfore, it follows not that the breeding of the Clothier does so much inable him to sell cloth, especially in great quantities, and that to forrein Nations, as the Merchants: but rather the contrary, even by the truth of the same granted rule. For asmuch as there is not onely an Art and Mysterie in the sale of cloth as aforesaid, but also an Art more abstruse, eminent, and exquisite then that is which consists in the Mechanicall way of making and dressing the same.

Secondly, the State is not to consider what is most beneficiall to the Merchant, what to the Clothier *separatim*, or whether the benefit of the one alone, or of the other be more to be favoured, but how they may be both favoured *conjunctim*, and how the State may be most benefited by twisting their interests both together. Now then generall interest of the State requires that all our *lanificia*, or *English* commodities be raised in price unto other Nations as high as may be without injustice, or inconvenience, and that as many persons and professions in *England* as may be, may

may come to be sharers in the generall interest. If the question then be, whether the Merchants interest, or the Clothiers do more conduce to this publick reason of *State*; sense it self will presently distinguish, that the Merchants advantage is more compliant with the publick then the Clothiers. For the Clothiers ayme is to drown that gain, which the Merchants industry and imployment now serves for, and which by his service is kept within the bounds of our own Island, to the maintaining of so many families at home, and busying so many men, and Ships abroad, and thereby to abridge the same the more to Natives, the more it is publicated unto strangers. The *Hollanders* are so subtill as to clog our *English* Woollen manufactures with great Impositions, and to free their own of the same, that the prices of their meaner Draperies may be raised up to our better ones, or the prices of our better Draperies may be beaten down to their meaner ones: but our subtiltie must be for the pleasure of our Clothiers to intercept from the Merchants all that livelihood which they now earn, and by vilifying of our own Wares to prostitute the same unto Strangers: nay and by the same means to expose themselves to the danger of having worse treatance from forreiners, then now they have from their own Countreymen.

Thirdly, if more regard be had of the Clothier, then of the Merchant, or State, yet constant experience teaches us, that this favour and preference which the Clothier challenges herein above the Merchant, is no reall favour, nor preference at all. For it has been alwayes seen, that the setting at liberty of the Merchants Trade has proved more obstructive to the Clothier then to the Merchant, in as much as the Merchant has a more large imployment, and can better subsist without the Clothier, then the Clothier can without the Merchant. Moreover as it doth not alwayes fall out, that the breaking up of the Merchants Trade brings any present quickness to Trade: so if it doth, that quickness never lasts; 'tis but *bonum presens*; 'tis but like cold water to a feaverish man, it procures some short refreshment, but repays that short refreshment within a short space after with a prolongation of sharper extremities. So it proved it in Qu: *Elizabeths* times; so it proved in King *James* his times; and so it is likely to

prove hereafter: wherefore if men of Mechanicall education will onely contemplate present things, and neither look forward nor backward, Statesmen may, and must disaccommodate them for the present, that they may be accommodated the better for the future.

5th. Arg: That power in private men which onerates the chief Commoditi-s of the Realm with arbitrary impositions to maintain it self, is dangerous: but such is the Merchants power, &c. *Anf.* Our Companies ordinary charge is scarce considerable in respect of the great summes we deal for; and the extraordinary charge is alwayes drawn on by some extraordinarie, unavoidable inconvenience: for example, the removals of our Residence from one Mart Town to another is commonly a great burthen to us, but that burthen is undertaken to avoid some greater detriment, and without it either we should loose old priviledges, or be made to submit to some new exactions: or be some other way aggrieved in a worse degree. Now this is for the common good, and we may rather expect favour from the Kingdom, then disfavour for such services.

Secondly, we have a Bill now in the Houses, prepared for His Majesties Assent, and in that Bill the future Impositions of our Company are reduced to a certaintie.

Thirdly, there is an absolute necessity of these Impositions, for neither can our Trade prosper without government, nor government be maintained without some charge: neither is our government necessary onely for our selves, but also for the Clothier, for as much as we are a good skreen, or bank betwixt the Merchant stranger, and the *English* Clothier, and were not the prices of our clothes kept up by us, and that partly by the charge of our government, the Clothier would be more inslaved to the Stranger, then now He is.

Lastly, our Accounts are kept most exactly, and audited punctually, and the hands through which all things passe are so many that there can be no error, nor fraud. The Hans Towns in *Germany*, anciently 72. in number, found it expedient to incorporate, and maintain a common correspondence: for which end *Lubeck* of the *Wendish*, *Brunswick* of the *Saxon*, *Dantzig* of the *Prusse*, and *Cullen* of the *Westphalish* Towns was appointed to be chief;

chief; and the chief of all was *Lubeck*. These Towns so united for adjusting all common, and particular interests obtained severall places of Residence in *England* at *London*, in *Norway* at *Bergen*, in *Russia* at *Novograde*: in the *Netherlands* at *Antwerpe*: and in each of these residencies they had their Alderman, Assistants, Secretaries, Treasurers, Stewards, and other Officers, by whom their publick affairs were administred, and Merchant Law was exercised. Wherefore if the expence of their government was more then countervailed by the benefit of their unity; and if they were gainers by that expence, why should that be imprudent in us which was prudent in them? or why should that be dammage to us, which was profit to them?

The ordinary pleas for *Freedom* are thus answered, and the Objections against Reglement in Trade removed; we will now onely re-inforce all that has been said in a word, or two.

The most solid glory, and magnificence that ever dazel'd humane eyes upon earth: was that of *Solomons* royall Court, at that time, when his unparralleld wisdome had made Silver as stones in *Jerusalem*, and Cedars as vulgar as Sycamores used to be in other places.

Tis written of his raigne (by an inspired Author) that it made Silver of no account, that in one yeer there flowed into his Exchequer *666* Talents of pure Gold; that besides all his Masses of *Ophir* gold, he abounded with other various Treasures, precious stones, &c. such as the Merchants of Spices, the Governours of the Countrie, and the Kings of *Arabia* did import. *Solomon* was no warriour, nor born Lord of many Nations, nor did his *Jewish* Signiory extend it selfe over any large Tract in the universe: tis onely written of him, that he had at Sea a Navie of *Tarshish* with *Hirams*, & the same Navie once in 3 years returned home fraighted with gold, silver, ivory &c. *Hiram* being hitherto straitned in the mediterranean Seas, could not gaine the *Stronds* of *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, *China*, &c. without incompassing the Capes or *Africa*, and crossing the Suns torrid line: but upon terms of partnership *Solomon* is now able to let him in to that *Southern* Ocean by a way far more compendious.

Pharaoh on the further side of the red sea is *Solomons* neer Allye: and the *Edomites* on this side are his tributary servants: hereupon

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on things are so composed betwixt the *Jews*, and *Tyrians*, that it is as beneficiall for the *Tyrians* to serve the *Jews* with their skill in Astronomy, and Hidrography, as for the *Jews* to serve the *Tyrians* with their harbours, and ships. Therefore the Queen of *Sheba* (till her eyes were ascertained with substances) might well withhold her beleife from entertaining, that stupendious report which was blowne about the world concerning *Solomon*; and well might her spirit after sinke within her, when her eyes had once encountered with the radiant Majesty of *Solomon*, whereby the blasts of Fames Trumpet were so far drowned, and transcended. Of all *Solomons* successors we read of none but *Jehosaphat*, that ever thought of rigging new navies in *Ezion-geber*; and He nevertheless though he had the *Edomites* his homagers, and was also much renowned for his wisdome, and grandour, found this designe unfeasible, and the way to *Ophir* altogether unpassable. This is a cleer chrisis to indicate how profound the judgment, and how broad the comprehension of *Solomon* was, before whom (till apostacie had alien'd his God from him) no difficulties were able to stand: yet 'twas not so admirable in *Solomon*, that he amassed such incredible treasures, as that he amassed them by Peacefull arts, and not by the dint of his sword.

The tragicall exploits of *Alexander*, and *Cæsar*, may be accounted *magna, & splendida Latrocinia*, if they be compared to the feats of Merchandize excercised by *Solomon* and the other Kings of *Tyre* and *Arabia*; and yet we may doubt too, whether the spoile of the East to *Alexander*, or of the West to *Cæsar* were equall in value to all *Solomons* Cargazoons.

Whilest the cruell depredations of war impoverish, dispeople and by horrid devastations root up, and so shrinke (as it were) great Empires into small Provinces: Merchandise on the other side beautifies, inriches, impowers little States, and so alters their naturall dimensions, that they seem to swell, as it were, into spacious Empires. This martiall *Hero* has inscribed upon his Statue: that he has fought so many picht battells, that he has with his rapid lightnings spread a suddain conflagration over so many Kingdomes; that with the losse of 100000 fellow Souldiers he has purchased the slaughter of 1000000 Enemies, at least such as he would needs make, and stile his Enemies. But

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in the mean time that gentle unbloody Prince which by his severall dispersed Carricks visits each climate of the world onely to plunder the Earths caverns of her Mettalls, or the Rocks of their Diamonds, or the Deepe it self of its pearles; merits to be celebrated for the common benefactor of mankind, aswell for the necessaries which he convaies unto other Nations, as for the more pretious wares which he recovers out of the darke abisse of nature, and relades for the use of his own Subjects.

Howsoever this one instance of *Solomon* (to lay aside all other instances of Princes, that have engaged themselves in such like mercatorian negotiations) makes it plain, that the most Majesticall of all Kings that ever raigned, was the most ample adventurer that ever trafficked, and that he had not been so great a Prince, if he had not been so ample a Merchant: for it is more then probable that al the Tributes of *Judea* were inconsiderable in comparison of the returns which *Tarshish* did afford.

It must needs follow therefore from the same very instance, that the devouring, piraticall Trade of war is not so honourable, or so fit to magnifie Princes, and make happie Nations, as that ingenious just Art of commerce, which may be exercised without rigor, or effusion of blood.

I shall then close up all with this application to our own Nation: if Merchandise be truly noble: if the raies which streamed so plentifull from *Solomons* diadem were more supplyde by traffick, then by tribute; let not *England* totally neglect Merchants. Let us look into the causes that make Trade so dead amongst us at present, and the fittest remedies that possibly may recover it. In the *East Indies* we know who they are, that by cruelty have oppresst us; In *Russia* we may take notice who they are, that by subtilty have supplanted us. Here in *Germany* our Priviledges are ill kept; in *Holland* they are worse.

In many Countries the manufactures in Silkes, and Cottonwoolls increase. In High, and Low *Germany* the store of sheep is increased; and of late the kinde of them especially in *Silesia* is much improoved, hereby, and by the help of *Spanish* woolls, nay of *English* woolls too. & Fullers Earth daily exported against law, our *English* Draperies are extreamely brought low.

The late obstructions and calamities of civill war in our Kingdome,

dome, concurring with other annoyances done us by the Kings Agents abroad, and millitary Commissions upon the Sea, have added more to our ruine. Moreover, in other things the Times seeme to looke towards a Reformation, but in matters of Trade Order and regulation it self is opposed, and confusion under the Name of Liberty is now more then ever publickly pleaded for. The King by his Proclamation had formerly abetted his Progenitors grant to us, and the Parliament lately has corroborated the Kings Proclamations, yet nothing can secure us against intruding *Interlopers*. By this meanes Merchandize is brought to a low ebbe, 20 Ships yearly in former times did attend us here in *Hamburgh*, now 6. are sufficient to supply us, and though our Company be in this Consumption, some other Companies waste away worse then ours. All these mischeifs perhaps are not remediable, yet let us use the best remedies we can, and such as are most seasonable.

In *Platoes* Opinion those Common-wealths were most likely to prosper where learned men ruled, or Rulers were learned. Within the circle of *Platoes* learning let us comprehend the mysteries of commerce. In *Solomons* dayes that kinde of learning did wonderfull things towards the advancing of States; and of late as *Venice* a City of Merchants has been the Bulwark of *Europe* against the *Turk*: so the States in the United Provinces by Trade more then Arms, have gotten the sword of Arbitration into their hands. *Spain*, and *France*, and other Nations no ware fain to court those Merchants, which not long since were below their scorn. Let it then be lawfull to propose: either that a certain number of able Merchants may be made Privy Councellors: or so many Privy Councellors specially designed to intend matters of Trade; or let some other Honourable Councell be impowred solely to promote the Common-weal of Merchants.

By

By the King.

A Proclamation for the better Ordering the Transportation of Clothes, and other Woollen Manufactures into *Germany*, and the *Low-Countreys*.

WHereas We have taken into our Princely Consideration the manifold benefits that redound to this Kingdom by the Manufacture of Woollen Clothes, and the Transportation and venting thereof in forrein parts: and finding how much good government, and managing the said Trade in an Orderly way will conduce to the increase, and advancement of the same: We for the better settling of Order therein for the time to come, have thought fit with advice of Our Privy Councell, to declare Our Royall pleasure herein: And do therefore hereby strictly will and Command, that no Person, or Persons, Subject, or Subjects of this our Realm of *England*, shall at any time from and after the Feast of *Purification*, &c. now next coming, Ship, transport, carrie, or convay, or cause to be shipped, &c. either from Our City and Port of *London*, or from any other City, Town, Port, Haven, or Créek of this Our Realm of *England* by way of Merchandice any White-clothes, coloured Clothes, Clothes dressed, and Died out of the Whites, Clothes called Spanish Clothes, Bayes, Kersys, Perpetuanoes, Stockings, or any other *English* Woollen commodities unto any the Cities, Towns, places in *Germany*, or the 17. Provinces of the *Netherlands*, save onely, and except to the Mart, and Staple-towns of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers in those parts for the time being, or to one of them.

And further, to the end that the said Trade may be hereafter reduced, and continued in an orderly and well govern'd course: We do hereby declare Our Royall pleasure to be, that the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers shall admit into their *Freedom* of their said Trade all such our Subiects dwelling in our City of *London*, and exercised in the Profession of Merchants; and not

Shop-keepers, except they give over their Shops, as shall desire the same, for the Fines of 50 li. apiece; if they shall take their *Freedom* before Midsommer next; And that the said Fellowship shall likewise receive and admit into their *Freedom* such our Subjects of the Outports of this Our Kingdom, as being exercised in the Trade of Merchants shall desire the same, paying them 25 li. apiece for their Fine or Income: if they shall take their said *Freedom* before Michaelmas next. And that the Sons, and Servants of such as shall be so admitted, as aforesaid, shall pay to the said Fellowship at their severall admissions thereunto the summe of 6--13--4. apiece. And that all such persons, as shall not accept, and come into the said *Freedom* before the dayes herein prefixed, shall pay the double of the Fines before limited respectively, in case they shall afterwards desire to be admitted into the said Fellowship.

And Our further will, and pleasure is, and We do hereby command and inhibit all, and every of our Subjects, not being Free of the said Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers, that they, or any of them shal not presume to Trade in any the fore-named Commodities into any the parts or places of *Germany*, or *Low-Countreys* from or after the said Feast of *Purification* next ensuing, upon pain of Our high displeasure, and of such punishments as Our Court of Star-Chamber, whom We especially charge with the execution of Our Royall pleasure herein, shall think fit to inflict for such contempts.

White Hall: Decemb. 7. 10. of Our Reign. 1634.

Die

Die Merc. 11. Octob. 1643.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled.

For the upholding of the Government of the Fellowship of *Merchant Adventurers* of *England*, to the better maintenance of the Trade of *Clothing*, and *Woollen Manufacture of the Kingdom.*

FOr the better incouragement and supportation of the Fellowship of *Merchant Adventurers* of *England*, which hath been found very serviceable and profitable to this State: and for the better government, and regulation of Trade, especially that ancient and great Trade of *Clothing*, whereby the same will be much advanced to the Common good, and benefit of the people: The *Lords* and *Commons* in Parliament do Ordain: that the said Fellowship shall continue, and be a Corporation, and shall have power to levie moneys on the Members of their Corporation, and their goods, for their necessary charge, and maintenance of their Government: and that no person shall Trade into those parts, limited by their Incorporation, but such as are Free of that Corporation, upon forfeiture of their goods. Provided, that the said Fellowship shall not exclude any person from his *Freedom*, and Admission into the said Fellowship which shall desire it by way of Redemption, if such person by their custome be capable thereof, and hath been bred a Merchant, and shall pay 100 li. for the same, if He be Free, and an Inhabitant of the City of *London*, and trade from that Port, or 50 li. if He be not Free, and no Inhabitant of the said City, and trade not from thence: and that the said Fellowship shall have power to imprison Members of their Company in matters of their government, and to give such an Oath, or Oaths, to them as shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. Provided, that all rights confirmed by an Act of Parliament, or ancient Charters, shall be hereby saved. And the said Lords and Commons do further Ordain,

That

That withall convenient expedition, a Bill shall be prepared Order to an Act of Parliament to be passed in this present P liament, for the further setling, and full confirming of the F viledges to the said Fellowship, with such other clauses, and p visions as shall be found expedient by both Houses of Par ment. This Ordinance to remain in full force, untill a Bill Act shall be prepared and passed, according to the intent and meaning of this Ordinance. And it is Ordered, that this O nance be forthwith Printed and publisht, that all persons c cerned therein may take notice thereof, as appertaineth.

Jo: Browne Cler: Par.

H: Elsyng Cler: Par. Dom. Co

FINIS.